$2,500? Oh, I couldn't possibly accept!

Joseph Wishart (above), Nebraska GOP treasurer, told a Senate hearing that John M. Neff, oil industry attorney, had offered him that sum for his state committee because his state had been "fair" to the oil boys. But Nebraska law limits individual contributions to $1,000, Wishart said he told Neff. Oh, this comes from five or six of the "oil people," said Neff. I see, said Wishart, then it's OK. So he took the $2,500. Anybody smell gas?

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WAR & PEACE

Dulles warns Asia of Russia as Ike talks about peace

THE EISENHOWER administration confidently rode off in two opposite directions at once last week. **In Washington** the President wrote to Soviet Premier Bulganin tentatively exploring ways to disarmament and the banning of future H-bombs. **In Karachi,** Pakistan, Secy. of State Dulles spoke grimly of the Russian menace, more dangerous than ever because it promised peace, and urged the nations of South-East Asia to arm themselves to the hilt. Neither side of the split personality took any notice of the other.

The President was answering a letter which Premier Bulganin had written last September urging a new look at disarmament and the ban on the bomb. It was a cordial exchange and the world took heart. But the President did more than smile. He made several important concessions.

The Russians had asked for an outright ban on atomic weapons when they were far behind in the race. They continue to demand it even though they now are neck-to-neck with the U. S. The U. S. has preferred to put a ban on the back of the stove while the talk of controls and inspections was endlessly debated and the arms race roared on.

A NEW APPROACH: For the first time, in his letter to Bulganin, the President accepted the notion of a ban now. He hedged it and limited the ban only to future manufacture of atomic weapons. Existing stockpiles (enough to destroy most of civilization) would be kept intact. But a ban, however partial, now seemed possible.

The President linked the limited ban

Vicky in New Statesman & Nation, London
"Oh no, not that! We surrender!"

to plans for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Hitherto when the Soviets tried to tie the two together, U. S. diplomacy fought doggedly to keep them separate, holding that the proposed international agency for peaceful uses of the atom must in no way interfere with development of its wartime uses. Now the President implied agreement with the Soviet view that such an agency could serve both functions.

Eisenhower joined his "open-skies" proposal of aerial inspection—unacceptable by itself to the Russians—with the more rigorous land inspection demanded by the Soviet. Finally he yielded to the Soviet view that disarmament of conventional weapons could at least be discussed along with atomic disarmament and controls.

HAPPY RECEPTION: William R. Frye, UN correspondent of the **Christian Science Monitor,** wrote:

> "For the first time, it is said here, the United States has come forward with a plan which may be negotiable

(Continued on Page 4)

WASHINGTON

Oil lobby whitewash in making

By Lawrence Emery

IT WAS CLEAR last week that the Senate investigation of itself on the lobbying issue would leave many a stone unturned and it seemed certain that none of the big rocks would be looked under. It was too obvious to all concerned that a thorough, free-swinging probe would blow a great many high-ranking Congressional leaders right out of the water. The trick was to make all the necessary righteous declarations on a high moral level while taking great care to nullify them in action.

The country should be grateful for the stupidity of John M. Neff, the small-town Nebraska lawyer who goofed when he went bumbling through five states almost vainly trying to give away $7,500 of Superior Oil Co. money in $2,500 lots (in cash) as rewards to Senators who voted right on the Fulbright-Harris bill to exempt natural gas producers from federal price controls. If he hadn't loused up his assignment there wouldn't even be a suggestion of a lobbying probe now.

THE LOW-BLOW BOYS:: Top Senate leaders—Democrat Lyndon Johnson and Republican William F. Knowland, both beholden to the oil industry—with the connivance of Vice-President Nixon, himself the grateful recipient of oil money, sought to hush the public outcry by setting up a special four-man committee to look into the Neff business and nothing else. But Neff's revelations were enough to force Senate leaders to go through the motions of undertaking a broader inquiry.

The logical man to head the probe was Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.), but the top brass was afraid he would be too tough. Johnson and Knowland, masters at in-fighting and specialists in the low blow that even the referee doesn't see, set up a special hand-picked eight-man "bipartisan" committee to contain Gore. The committee is evenly divided between Democrats and Republicans and between Senators who voted for and against the gas steal. But by temperament, it is loaded unevenly with political conservatives. And it had a built-in self-detonating device in the person of Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N. H.).

McCLELLAN TAKES JOB: Bridges, who has been in the Senate since 1937, is the Republican "dean" of the chamber and is his party's Senate policy committee chairman. Bridges is an expert intriguer and has the grudging respect of his fellows for his ability to get his own way by off-stage maneuvering. It was his job to prevent Gore from heading the committee.

He went to work with a meat-axe; by insisting on impossible restraints which would have emasculated the chairmanship, he forced Gore to step aside. The committee then elected Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.) who obligingly granted most of Bridges' demands for "dual" authority. Bridges was named vice chairman.

McClellan comes from an oil and gas producing state, voted for the gas bill, and, as the N. Y. **Times** reported on March 10, is "a Southerner and . . . the Democratic member closest to the conservative position represented by the four Republicans." McClellan called the chairmanship a "most disagreeable and difficult task" but said he accepted it "out of a sense of duty to the United States Senate." On March 12 the **Times** said:

> "Under Sen. McClellan the new investigation may be less concerned with specific examples of possible wrong-doing and more with broad aspects of policy than it would be under Sen. Gore."

WHO IS BRIDGES? Specific examples of wrong-doing were what Bridges and

(Continued on Page 3)

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

Hit parade

NEW YORK, N. Y.

There is a new top hit coming, sung by a deck hand on board a freighter, destination Saudi Arabia. The title is "Eighteen Tanks," the refrain: "Saint Peter, don't ye call me, I can't go; I owe my soul to the Aramco."

John H. Beck

Calif. "winter book"

UPLAND, CALIF.

Amongst progressives here, Kefauver seems to be favored. Really, who knows just where Stevenson stands? Could be a good man; but will he? Quite a difficult job for any decent, real American or another FDR to win. Washington, Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, if here today, would be called Communists. Yes, Jesus too.

By the way: We have a real Democrat running for Senator against Kuchel. His name: Richard Richards. He is now L. A. County's State Senator; first term. Been on radio for about two years. Warner Bros. independent radio KFWB. Surprising how few have heard him. Sam Yorty, his opponent for nomination, will lose out. Democratic Party endorses RR. Yorty lost out two years ago. I don't care for him.

Franklin Baxter

Let's not

KINGSPORT, TENN.

Is it possible that a man like Nixon could reach the Presidency of the United States? Why not elect Joe McCarthy and let everything go down the drain at once?

A. Preston Gray

Harry Dexter White

HAVERHILL, MASS.

Now that Dick Nixon is a headliner in the news again, it is the time to remember a fine, high-principled man that he ruined: Harry Dexter White.

At Bretton Woods, a fine new idea was presented: an international body that would lend money to little, destitute countries and allow them to repay the loans in raw materials, or as they could according to the amount and the nature of their resources.

Mr. White served ably and unselfishly to shape that organization. By twisting facts, and creating dirty suspicions, Nixon destroyed Mr. White. Under the Eisenhower-Dulles-Nixon combination today, the only way that little, destitute countries can obtain loans is by selling their able-bodied men to the NATO military forces, by accepting military commitments.

M. I. L.

Political satire

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Congratulations on a first-rate piece of political satire: James Aronson's "Roll Out the Barrell" in the Spectator (3/5). It was a pleasure to read. I guess satire develops in times like these.

R. W.

Praise for kids

CUMBERLAND, WIS.

I wish to commend you for having presented the article on "The Problem of Juvenile Delinquency" (2/27/56). Considering what children are up against these days, it is surprising that so many of them are very good children who love to be fair, honest, generous and kind. If all children had more physical work to do and received praise for the good work they accomplish, very few of them would resort to crime.

Charles Beaulieu

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The State Department announcement said the two-day embargo was ended after officials had satisfied themselves that shipment of tanks to Saudi Arabia would be in line with United States policies designed to avoid an arms race between Israel and the Arab states and to promote stability and peace in Palestine.

—N.Y. Herald Tribune, Feb. 26 European Edition, Paris.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: David N. Leff, Paris. Be sure to send original clip with entry.

Looking backward

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The articles on public power by Reuben W. Borough bring back to mind the founding convention of the recent Progressive Party in Philadelphia in 1948.

The trail-blazing platform adopted at that time contained these words of wisdom on the proper approach to an "economy of abundance":

"Monopoly's grip on the economy must be broken if democracy is to survive and economic planning become possible. Experience has shown that anti-trust laws and government regulation are not by themselves sufficient to halt the growth of monopoly. The only solution is public ownership of key areas of the economy.

"The Progressive Party will initiate such measures of public ownership as may be necessary to put into the hands of the people's representatives the levers of control essential to the operation of an economy of abundance. As a first step, the largest banks, the railroads, the merchant marine, the electric power and gas industry, the industries primarily dependent on government funds or government purchases such as the aircraft, the synthetic rubber and synthetic oil industries must be placed under public ownership."

There is a terrific dynamic in this statement for millions of our citizens, be they petty enterprisers, farmers or wage and salary earners. Not, of course, discounting peace as the indispensible immediate issue, our permanent path of attack still today lies in this Progressive Party plank.

Joseph Smith

What?

RICHMOND, CALIF.

Bulganin offers us a peace treaty for 20 years assuring that millions now alive will be alive 20 years from now—assuring that our two countries will not be devastated for 20 years, enabling us to use billions now devoted to destruction for popular welfare and allaying worldwide apprehension. What does our rejection of the treaty assure?

J. N. McCullough

Thanks to all

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Committee to Defend the Kwaks, as a final piece of business, has instructed me to ask the use of your columns in order not only to thank the GUARDIAN for all the support you have given us, but also to express our gratitude to all those who have contributed in so many ways to our successful fight to save the lives of Choon Cha and Chungsoon Kwak.

To those who contributed money anonymously, we wish particularly to say thank you. To any to whom, in the tremendous last minute rush of the dinner for the Kwaks and their departure to their home, we did not send a proper receipt and letter of appreciation, we say forgive us, and of course, thank you; to all we say, may there be many more such victories, and a speedy repeal of the Walter-McCarran Act, under which it was possible to persecute this brave couple.

Louise Mally

Farm prices

ROBESONIA, PA.

I am in touch with farmers because I am in the meat business and I know how hard things are for them now. It is really a shame. I know where a farmer sold a 300 lb. hog for only $24. That amounts to only $8 a hundred lbs.; a farmer has to pay $6 a hundred lbs. for feed. Anyone can see that he is not getting enough money to stay in business.

Paul Root

Bow to Bobby

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

Robert Burns, the Scottish poet, had been attending a meeting to give thanks for success in war. He was, of course, disgusted with the whole business and, on leaving before the service had ended, he left the following verse in his seat (written on the back of an envelope):

> Are these your pranks,
> To murder men and give God thanks?
> Desist, for shame, proceed no further;
> God won't accept your thanks for murder.

But you nor I hae nae the gift to say things just like he; and so perforce we get a lift, or mute we still might be.

Menzie MacTavish

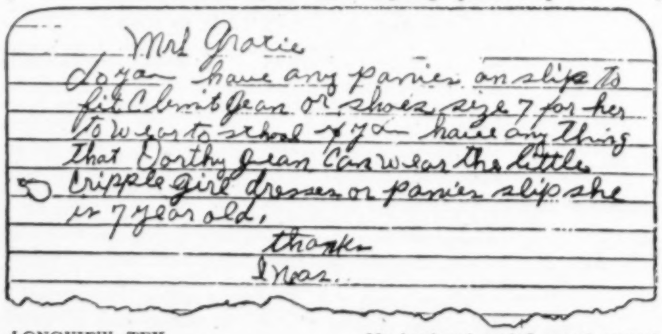
Bouquet for Fast

PUEBLO, COLO.

Thank you for the wonderful column by Howard Fast, "The Virtuous Ones." A column for posterity. (Courtesy of Standard Brands Distributors, 1/16/56).

Paul Steward

"Nowhere such terrifying poverty"


Mrs Gracie
do you have any panies an slips to
fit Clemit Jean or shoes size 7 for her
to wear to school y you have any thing
that Dorthy Jean Can wear the little
cripple girl dresses or panies slip she
is 7 year old,
thanks
Inas.

LONGVIEW, TEX.

Above is a letter from a neighborhood Negro sharecropper mother, typical of appeals we receive constantly from rural parents trying desperately to keep their children in school. Many children are already back in school this year—thanks to friends, North, East, South and West.

In addition to the present need for children's and grownups' clothing, there is also a grave shortage of infants' clothing. (Most babies hereabouts are mid-wife delivered.) Just yesterday, three expectant mothers asked me about nightgowns and baby clothes.

My husband and I spent several years in union work among the South's lowest income workers—from Texas to the Carolinas—but nowhere have we found such terrifying poverty as exists in this and some of the other rural communities of this oil-rich section of Texas.

All friends who have sent clothing and other assistance may be sure of sincere gratitude. A lot of good, both materially and morally, has been done—but the need is still great!

Grace Koger

Parcels may be sent to Grace Koger, Route 3, Longview, Tex. Ed.

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REPORT TO READERS

Dateline: The World

WITH A GOOD DEAL of excited anticipation, we report to you this week that Tabitha Petran, our world affairs analyst, sailed for Europe aboard the Queen Elizabeth last week. She will be out of the country on a six-month special reporting tour for the GUARDIAN, going from Paris to Geneva in April for the highly important sessions of the UN's Economic Commission for Europe, and then on to other key spots where the news is breaking. And isn't it breaking these days!

TABITHA PETRAN
A look from the outside

We waited until Miss Petran was out of the country too before telling you a bit about her—and our pride in her. She has an uncommon modesty and probably would never have sanctioned these words. Miss Petran has been with the GUARDIAN almost since our beginning, coming from a background of Smith College and editorial jobs with **Time** magazine, the newspaper **PM** and the **N. Y. Post.**

One of the most painstaking fact-finders we know (she keeps files at home as well as in the office), she has over the GUARDIAN years developed into an analyst of world affairs so widely respected that her weekly roundups and special economic reports have been reprinted in papers in many world capitals and are carefully read at the United Nations in New York, to which she is accredited.

For Miss Petran her trip will be an on-the-spot refresher course and new-discovery journey which promises many exciting dispatches during her time abroad and when she returns. Watch for her stories, and show them to your friends.

SPEAKING OF WORLD COVERAGE, we have been getting all kinds of kudos for the way our foreign reporting has expanded—with hard-hitting, frank stories and background pieces—from London, Paris, Prague, Warsaw, Athens, Rome, Tel Aviv, Peking, Tibet and even Mongolia.

Our sparkling London coverage we present to you with some reluctance, because every time we get a dispatch from our editor-in-exile, Cedric Belfrage, all we can think is: "Wish you were here." But don't Cedric's pieces add a distinction to the GUARDIAN which only that Belfrage touch can provide? Now let's talk about some of our other stars:

In Paris there is Anne Bauer, a cosmopolitan if ever there was one. Born in Germany (where her family was wiped out by Hitler), she came to the U.S., became an American, worked for OWI and in Germany for Information Control Division. A long round-Africa trip produced stories on the Malan regime in S. Africa which were printed throughout the Western world and got her in dutch with—guess who?—the U.S. State Dept. Her passport was picked up and, as a naturalized citizen five years out of the U.S., she lost her citizenship. She settled in Paris, is married to a Frenchman and is now French. Free-lances for the French radio too.

In Prague sits George Wheeler (when he can find time between his economics teaching, reporting and entertaining Western visitors) with his dynamic wife Eleanor and four kids. His expert work is familiar to you; we hope to use more of it.

In Warsaw, fresh from Israel and points south, is Ursula Wassermann, another world citizen. Also German-born, she fled the Nazis, living first in England, then America, Europe again and Israel. She has settled for a time in Warsaw to complete another book (her first, **I Was An American,** kicked up quite a stir in England). You'll be hearing more from her shortly.

IN ATHENS AND ROME we have two young writers with pen-names for good reason. Our Greek correspondent John Athineos (John of Athens) is the most recently acquired. We have got some fine letters on the stories of Ecco La Scolta (Be-

(Continued on Page 3)

Lobby whitewash

(Continued from Page 1)

most of his fellow-Senators most wanted to avoid. When Bridges was first named to the committee the Washington **Post & Times Herald** commented:

"The last man we should have thought qualified for such an assignment is Sen. Bridges. . . . His acceptance of a trusteeship in the United Mine Workers pension fund some years ago and his association with Henry Grunewald, the mysterious 'fixer,' should have been enough to disqualify him for an assignment of this kind."

Bridges was forced to resign from his UMW trusteeship in 1949 when it was disclosed that he and the industry representative on the fund were both

Herblock in Washington Post

"We want to prevent a runaway committee."

drawing a $35,000-a-year allowance while UMW head John L. Lewis, the third trustee, drew nothing. On Aug. 18 that year Sen. Glenn Taylor (D-Ida.) moved for a Senate investigation of Bridges' expenditures from that income but Bridges called it a move to cause him "political embarrassment" and nothing came of it.

THE DUTCHMAN: Neither has anything ever come of Bridges' association with Henry (The Dutchman) Grunewald, the fabulous Washington fixer and influence peddler who, for a proper fee, could get anybody almost anything he wanted from the government. When Grunewald's activities first began to come to public attention, columnist Drew Pearson sent one of his staff men to a Washington office listed as Grunewald's. The occupant, who turned out later to be on Grunewald's payroll, denied any connection with Grunewald. But, Pearson reported, when his man left, the office occupant immediately telephoned Sen. Bridges to report that someone had been around looking for Henry.

Grunewald, a one-time FBI agent and a one-time investigator for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, eventually got caught up with. In Congressional and grand jury inquiries his close association with Sen. Bridges was reluctantly revealed, even though skimpily. Grunewald, all told, has been indicted for contempt of Congress, indicted on ten counts of perjury, was sentenced on April 1, 1955, to five years in prison and fined $10,000 on a charge of accepting a $160,000 fee in a tax fix case. He still faces two other trials, one for perjury and one for evading his own income taxes. The ten-count perjury indictment has been dropped and he is still free on bail in the tax-fixing conviction.

> **Wholesale only**
>
> Brooklyn Clothing Manufacturer to his Senator:
>
> "I want the minimum-wage laws changed so I won't have to pay my employes so much. Please send me a price list and the names of senators to whom I should make a contribution."
>
> —Newsweek, March 5.

TAX FRAUD CASE: Bridges and Grunewald were both involved in a $7,000,000 tax case involving a Baltimore liquor dealer. On May 2, 1953, Pearson reported that Bridges introduced a bill in the Senate "to increase the salary of Charles Oliphant, then counsel of Internal Revenue. He was the man both Bridges and Grunewald were working with on the huge $7,000,000 tax fraud case of Hyman Klein, Baltimore liquor dealer. It was the New Hampshire Senator who had put Klein in touch with Grunewald."

On April 14, 1953, the N. Y. **Times** reported an appearance of Grunewald before House tax investigators:

"He said Sen. Styles Bridges . . . had introduced him to 'the lawyer for John L. Lewis' but he declined to say what he did for Mr. Lewis. . . . Mr. Bridges, now president pro tempore of the Senate, is a former $35,000-a-year trustee for the UMW welfare fund. Grunewald identified the lawyer as Lowell Mayberry. In introducing Grunewald to Mr. Mayberry at the Hotel Washington, Grunewald said, Sen. Bridges told the lawyer: 'If you have any investigative work to do, I recommend Henry to you.'"

THE CASE IS DROPPED: The **Times** reported that after this testimony was given, "Sen. Bridges was not available for comment."

Grunewald also testified that in the Baltimore tax case he had made inquiries "as a favor to Sen. Bridges." He said he was not paid and that he did not know what the Senator's interest in the case was. At any rate, a criminal tax fraud investigation against Klein was dropped.

The Madison (Wis.) **Capital Times** on July 24, 1954, commented on the Grunewald disclosures:

". . . it appears that in this instance, as in the past, the enforcement officials are gingerly stepping around cases in which members of Congress were involved with Grunewald in some of his unexplained activities. . . . There is considerable evidence that Grunewald's best connections were with members of Congress. He was, for example, the man chosen by former Sen. Owen Brewster to convey $5,000 apiece to former Sen. Richard Nixon and Sen. Milton Young of North Dakota.

"His name was also connected with that of Sen. H. Styles Bridges . . . in a $7,000,000 tax evasion case involving a Baltimore liquor dealer. Charles Oliphant, former counsel to the Internal Revenue Bureau, testified that Grunewald had called on him on behalf of the Baltimore liquor dealer and said that he was representing Bridges. Bridges explained that his only interest in the case was the normal interest of a Senator in the problems of constituents. It was never explained how a citizen of Maryland could be a constituent of a Senator from New Hampshire.

"The Congressional committees, of course, showed no further curiosity in this strange case. It is now apparent that the law enforcement officials are equally indifferent. Grunewald's mysterious connection with high placed members of Congress will probably never be explained to the public."

NOTHING ILLEGAL: Bridges, in the current inquiry, has admitted that he was visited before Senate action on the gas steal bill by Elmer Patman, Superior Oil Co. attorney who hired the bungling Neff. Actually, Patman's expense accounts, introduced in evidence, showed that he made two trips to Concord, N. H., Bridges' home town, last fall; Bridges admits to only one meeting with him.

Obviously, if there is any member of the Senate to be relied upon to torpedo any free-swinging probe "of attempts to influence improperly or illegally the Senate or any member thereof," Bridges is the man.

But he isn't the only one; the special four-man committee headed by Sen. Walter F. George (D-Ga.) that peered into the Neff business hasn't made its formal report yet. But George has already announced that while Neff's offers of cash donations to Senators for a right vote were "manifestly improper," he sees no "illegal act" committed.

Justus in Minneapolis Star

Much of it will be done with mirrors

CITIZENS COMMISSION: The one sensible proposal so far made came from Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.), who suggested that the lobbying probe be conducted by a special non-partisan citizens commission headed preferably by "a retired jurist of unquestioned non-partisanship and ability."

To our present crop of Senators, Democrats and Republicans alike, such a notion is poison.

Since 1854 there have been seven Congressional investigations of lobbying; the sum total of those efforts was one ineffectual law adopted in 1946. In this booming year of the great Eisenhower Crusade it is impossible to improve upon that record.

A TRUE "PEOPLE'S ADVOCATE"

William Esterman dead

A LAWYER whose name had come to be synonymous with people's advocate" in the Los Angeles area died March 7 following a heart attack suffered Feb. 16. He was William B. Esterman of Altadena and it may be truly said that he poured his life out for the benefit of the people of his community, at whose side he could always be found, day or night, whenever anyone was oppressed by police, witch-hunters or bigots.

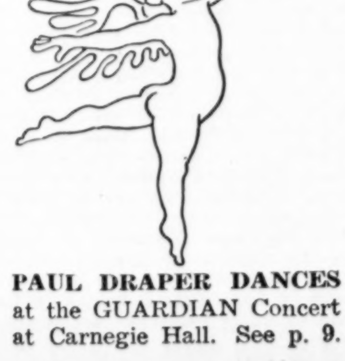
WILLIAM B. ESTERMAN

He wore his heart out

Born in Milwaukee in 1904, he got his law degree from Kent College, Chicago and entered practice in the Los Angeles area 12 years ago after some years as a Natl. Labor Relations Board attorney. He fought the California Tenney Committee, local forerunner of the McCarthy, McCarran, Eastland and Walter Committees of later years. He represented teachers victimized in school witch-hunts, battled for Los Angeles doctors, Hollywood artists and others against political victimization, was himself summoned before Congressional committees, but found time in a ceaselessly busy career to defend countless poor and friendless people fallen afoul of unfriendly law.

For the GUARDIAN Bill Esterman was an unfailing booster on every possible occasion. Of him our L. A. representative Tiba Willner writes: "It takes so many years to make a man like Bill Esterman and the years bring forth so few of his kind, that we cannot take their loss easily."

He leaves his wife, Priscilla, and a son and daughter, Richard, 21, and Susan, 19. Funeral services were held Sunday, March 11, at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles.



PAUL DRAPER DANCES at the GUARDIAN Concert at Carnegie Hall. See p. 9.

Report to Readers

(Continued from Page 2)

hold the Guardian) from Italy. One day this journalist's name will blossom over his stories with deserving credit.

In Tel Aviv, to replace Miss Wassermann, we were fortunate to hook up with Mordecai Avi-Shaul, a Hebrew writer of distinction and translator of Thomas Mann. You'll be reading more of him too.

In Peking, bringing up the front, is Israel Epstein, whose recent stories in the GUARDIAN on Tibet and Inner Mongolia were among the finest we have ever printed. Eppy has had an exciting career. Brought up in Tientsin, he joined the **UP** bureau in North China in 1937. He traveled the whole country until 1939 when the Japanese were threatening Canton, China's last major seaport. He made his way to Hong Kong, returned to the mainland, then had to flee to Hong Kong again. **He was caught there by Pearl Harbor, was interned, escaped dramatically to China again, wrote for American papers and for the OWI in** Chungking. He returned to the U.S. after the war to lecture, edit and write. In the midst of all this he managed to find time to gather material for his classic **The Unfinished Revolution in China.** He has been back in New China since 1951.

WELL, THERE IT IS, and there's more coming. Some of the reportage is controversial, as the mail has shown, but all of it is the work of serious, intelligent and sensitive people who have no axes to grind and are interested solely in helping Americans to a better understanding of this complex world.

It's an exciting time to be alive. There is so much to understand. We at the GUARDIAN are trying to do our part to further that understanding. We have gone to considerable effort and expense to obtain this kind of coverage which papers with thousands of dollars at their disposal cannot duplicate for reliability and integrity.

Won't you make it doubly worth while by passing the GUARDIAN on and letting others share in the bounty? That's the surest way of doubling the readership in a time when the people absolutely have to know.

—James Aronson

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

—that is, one which there is some distant hope the Soviet Union might consider."

A reporter cornered Premier Bulganin and Foreign Minister Molotov at a Kremlin reception. While Molotov nodded approvingly Bulganin told the reporter:

"It is a very interesting letter and a good one."

The Eisenhower text hit the newspaper stands in Moscow as soon as it did in Washington. Radio broadcasters began transmitting the full letter as soon as it was received. The reception throughout Europe was happy. The British Foreign Office called the letter "admirable." The mood infected Defense Secy. Charles Wilson who commented:

"Military power alone is not going to solve the world's problems or ultimately achieve a condition of peace. Some other things have to be done and that is why I am a little reluctant to join up in a demand for bigger and bigger navies, air forces, bigger bombs, more bombs and all that kind of business."

Some in Washington put tongue in cheek and talked of the letter as shrewd public relations.

TEST TO COME: **CSM** correspondent Joseph C. Harsch thought it "a suave and urbane way of avoiding the 'nyet' position." The test was to come in London on March 19 when the UN disarmament subcommittee meets. Taking off for the conference from Washington, the President's disarmament specialist Harold E. Stassen said he was carrying "sincere and solid" proposals for the Russians.

Asked by a reporter whether we had shifted our position in agreeing to discuss limitations on conventional armaments before atomic disarmament, Stassen said:

"There has been a complete restudy since the H-Bomb. There are entirely different dimensions in the world since the H-bomb came along."

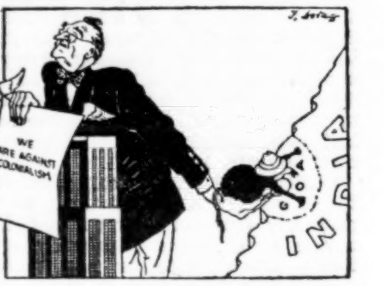
The President in his press conference of March 7 underlined those new dimensions:

"I believe the world has wakened to the fact that global war is getting well nigh unthinkable . . . which means that this uneasy peace which has been often called the cold war, is going to take, I believe, a different direction. . . . But there is going to be a broadening, a very great broadening, of the contest. . . ."

BUILT-IN WOES: The Washington "smile" was based not only on the H-bomb (now that both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. have it) but also upon the swift crumbling of all that was holy when the cold war gripped the world. Colonel "X," writing in the Paris **Tribune des Nations** (2/24) listed the woes gnawing at the cold war bastion of NATO and found none of them "agents of the U.S.S.R." The worst woes came from within what used to be called the "Atlantic Defense Community" which Col. "X" said now resembled "anything but an alliance."

British troops were rushed from Kenya to suppress Cypriots instead of Mau-Maus. The British kidnaped the Cypriot patriot Archbishop Makarios and bustled him off to the lonely Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean, thereby throwing Cyprus into confusion, stirring anti-British riots in Greece and bringing those two NATO nations close to a rupture in relations. Greece had been drifting steadily from the West and the Balkan bulwark of Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey—so painstakingly built by cold war diplomacy—lay shattered.

France was virtually written off as an effective military partner of NATO. French troops, once expected to man the line against the Russians, were being sent instead to North Africa where the lid seemed all but blown off the empire.



Blitz, Bombay

Dulles came to India

FRANCE BITTER: The French saw themselves on the spot and abandoned by their allies. They were fighting die-hard Europeans who objected to Tunisian home rule; and die-hard Algerians who objected to continued French rule. They complained of a lack of "sympathy" on the part of the U.S. and Britain. French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau in a public speech, suggested that the U.S. and Britain disapprove French "colonialism" only because they "wonder if France can remain in North Africa and whether, France being absent, they might receive the inheritance."

Former President Auriol, visiting Moscow, jested bitterly with Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov on Indo-China:

"You were against France there and look what happened—now you have the Americans in Indo-China."

Pineau also lambasted the "gigantic error" of Western policy as emphasizing too much the "military" aspect while the other side talked "peace." The London **Times** reported anxiety at 10 Downing St. and said that Pineau had "implied a radical change in the direction of 'neutralism.'" Eden promptly invited Premier Mollet for a week-end at his country house, Chequers, where the Prime Minister voiced his fears about France's "fidelity" to the Atlantic Alliance.

DULLES' HORNET'S NEST: Pineau came close to writing an obituary for the cold war when he declared that the "era of aggression" was over and that the West had to develop a "policy of coexistence" and a "confrontation" with the Communists through trade and cultural exchange. Pineau made his statement at a meeting of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization in Karachi, Pakistan, where Secy. of State Dulles seemed to be plodding along in the cold war's deep rut, apparently unaware that his vast network of treaties was falling all about him and that his own chief was wearing the Washington "smile."

The SEATO session was plainly uneasy and defensive. Representatives of the eight SEATO powers—U.S., Britain, France, Pakistan, the Philippines, Australia, Thailand and New Zealand—warned each other that Soviet policies of peace and trade were menacing their positions in Asia. Only the U.S. and Australian spokesmen mentioned the word "communist," which in earlier meetings had been the devil, beaten by every speaker. Dulles had only one answer to the threat of peace and trade: military preparedness. He promised economic aid to those who armed themselves but ducked all other proposals to outbid the Soviets in social and economic betterment.

Dulles stepped into a hornet's nest by promising to support Pakistan in her dispute with India over Kashmir and with Afghanistan over the Pathan country. He then took off for New Delhi on a visit which earlier had been planned to rival the tumultuous tour of Bulganin and Khrushchev.

COOL COURTESIES: At the airport in New Delhi Dulles was greeted by what the **AP** called a "crowd of 300 cheering Americans." That figure was topped by 480 policemen assigned to guard the route he traveled through the city. Indian newspaper editorials referred to him as "India's unwanted guest" and the **Hindustan Standard** said:

"If any single person could do the utmost to damage Indo-American relations, that person is Dulles."

Dulles held long conferences with Prime Minister Nehru, was housed at the Presidential Palace in the same suite used by Bulganin. There the similarities ended. A. M. Rosenthal writing from New Delhi for the N.Y. **Times** said that both Nehru and Dulles

". . . seemed determined to make a cool political situation as pleasant as courtesies could make it."

PETE SEEGER SINGS
at the GUARDIAN CONCERT
at Carnegie Hall. See p. 9.

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SICK OF ROCK AND ROLL?

Try a little Maxine Sullivan

IF YOU ARE reeling from the current musical aberration called "rock-and-roll," then reel to your nearest record dealer for a perfect antidote: two new recordings featuring Maxine Sullivan.

Miss Sullivan rose to high prominence in the Thirties when she captured a vast audience with her delightful swing versions of old ballads. In the late Thirties she was the singer with the John Kirby sextet whose Sunday afternoon CBS program, "Flow Gently, Sweet Rhythm," was one of the most popular in the country.

Remembering the popularity of that show, jazz impresario Leonard Feather last year assembled the original members of the band (with a replacement for Kirby, who died in 1952), and produced a 10-inch long-play record (Period, SPL 1113), under the original title of the old CBS show. It was the first time the members had been together in 13 years and for all of them the smooth music was pure nostalgia.

BONNY, BONNY BANKS: Miss Sullivan sang two of her old numbers on that record—**Molly Malone** and **If I Had A Ribbon Bow**—and when old-timers heard it they asked, why not a whole record for Miss Sullivan? Mr. Feather agreed, so now we have a 12-inch long-play record entitled **Maxine Sullivan—1956** (Period, RL 1909), with seven folk ballads on one side and six popular songs on the other, including an engaging treatment of the great St. Louis Blues.

On the ballad side, the record inevitably and properly begins with **Loch Lomond**, the swing version of which first rocketed Miss Sullivan to national fame. The supporting musicians expended a great deal of loving care on their work and the sum result is soft, smooth, subtle and easy. The years since pre-war days have been rough ones but they have been kind to Miss Sullivan's voice, which today is as cool and intimate as at the height of her earlier fame.

Buy the records—then come to hear Maxine Sullivan in person at the GUARDIAN's Spring Festival at Carnegie Hall April 17. —L. E.

T-H OATH CASE

Appeals Court split 4-4 on Ben Gold; conviction remains

BEN GOLD, former head of the former independent Fur & Leather Workers Union, announced last week he will appeal to the Supreme Court against an Appeals Court ruling March 9 upholding his conviction on a charge of falsely signing a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit. Gold was convicted on May 3, 1954, and sentenced to a one-to-three year prison term. The Appeals Court split 4-4 in upholding the conviction.

A contempt of court conviction against Gold's attorney, Harold I Cammer, arising from his defense of Gold, was reversed by the Supreme Court March 12.

In another Taft-Hartley affidavit case, the Justice Dept. has announced that it will re-try A. A. Fisher, Northwest woodworkers union leader whose conviction was reversed by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals on Feb. 15.

OTHER CASES: Two other similar cases involving Clinton Jencks and Maurice Travis of the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union are on appeal. Travis has been sentenced to eight years in prison.

Attorney Harry Sacher of New York, prominent for years in civil liberties cases, went on trial in Washington on March 12 on a contempt of Congress charge for his refusal to answer questions before an investigating committee.

In New York Gil Green, Communist leader who failed to surrender after a conviction under the Smith Act in 1951, was found guilty of contempt of court; he will be sentenced on March 26.

ALL-DAY PARLEY

National 'Watchdog Committee' will meet in New York Apr. 7

A NEWLY FORMED Watchdog Committee for Legislation in the National Interest has called an all-day conference for Saturday, April 7, at Manhattan Center, New York City. Originated by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, publisher Angus Cameron, Prof. Ephraim Cross and Rose Russell of the N.Y. Teachers' Union, the committee is sponsored by a growing list of prominent individuals including:

Author Carlton Beals; Prof. Shepard B. Clough, Columbia Univ.; playwright Arnaud D'Usseau; Simon Federman, manufacturer; Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes; Dr. Joseph B. Furst, author of **The Neurotic**; Dashiell Hammett; Robert W. Justice, chairman, Harlem Affairs Committee; Rockwell Kent; Al Kuchler, Northeastern Farmers Union; Florence Luscomb, Cambridge, Mass.; poet Eve Merriam; Walter O'Brien, Boston; Harvey O'Connor, chairman, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; muralist Anton Refregier; Lillian E. Reiner, Syracuse, N. Y.; sociologist Bertha C. Reynolds; Prof. Theodor Rosebury; Dr. Frank J. Slater, Clinton, N. Y.; artist Anthony Toney; Henry Willcox, builder, South Norwalk, Conn.

The April 7 conference will be held in two sessions, 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., divided into four panels and, after lunch, a 2-5 p.m. general session. The panels will cover Integration or Segregation (breaking the Dixiecrat hold on Congress); The Sovereign Citizen (Congress and the Bill of Rights); The National Treasure (public service vs. public plunder); Survival or Extinction (Congress and the "brink of war").

Panel discussion leaders and speakers at the general session will be announced later. Registration is $1. The sponsoring committee may be addressed at Suite 1500, 342 Madison Av., New York 17, N. Y.

"LORD, WE AINT WHAT WE WAS"

Alabama: The boycott is made of people

By Eugene Gordon

MRS. ROSA PARKS, going home on the night of Dec. 1 from her job as alteration tailor at the Montgomery Fair, didn't know why she decided to rebel openly. She had rebelled mentally before. It wasn't only that she was weary; she was always tired at this hour. It could be that since she was sitting and only white men were standing in the crowded bus, she suddenly remembered their traditional devotion to the ideal of protecting Southern womanhood. (She was Southern, having lived most of her 43 years in Montgomery; being just 5 feet 4, she didn't object to chivalry.) It could also be, she explained to the Baltimore **Afro-American**'s Al Sweeney, "I just wanted to see what would happen."

When the bus driver called again, "All right, you folks, let me have your seats," Mrs. Rosa Parks sat tight. The Negro man had got up from beside her. That place remained vacant, because the law forbade Negro and white sharing the same bus seat. White men were in the two seats across the aisle. The Negro women who had sat there were standing. Mrs. Parks knew she couldn't turn back now. The driver shouted: "Look, woman, I told you to move. If you don't move I'll call the police." She said: "Go on and call them!"

TIME TO DO SOMETHING: The jimcrow law invests bus drivers in Negro areas with the legal trappings of policemen. But it is sometimes expedient to call regular cops. Mrs. Parks was barely out of her seat before two white men had it. The cop asked the driver: "You just want her off the bus, or you want to file a complaint?" The driver said he'd file a complaint when he finished his run. She was locked up.

Hearing was set for Dec. 5. Negroes meanwhile were getting angrier and angrier. In March, 1955, they reminded one another, cops had handcuffed and jailed a school girl for not jumping back when a bus driver yelled. In October they had dragged another girl off a bus and fined her. It was time to do something. Mrs. Parks in court was given a choice of paying $14 or spending 14 days in jail. She appealed.

REV. RALPH D. ABERNATHY
He dips into folklore

She is a Methodist, on the stewardess board of St. Paul AME Church. Nobody with experience has to be told how rigid the sectarianism is that divides the great congregations of Methodists and Baptists. Yet the bus protest meeting of 5,000 Negroes was held in the Holt St. **Baptist** Church. Montgomery Negroes realized that there was something new. All doubt vanished when Baptist pastor Martin Luther King Jr. was elected president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., organized on the spot to carry out a one-day protest boycott.

Organized Passivity

THE REV. Ralph D. Abernathy, pastor of Montgomery's First Baptist Church and the Improvement Assn.'s vice president, reported last week that a mass meeting would be held in the city's huge Coliseum March 18. That would be the day before the 100 indicted boycotters are to stand trial.

Meetings are called by the Improvement Assn. several times a week to hear latest reports on negotiations with the bus company or to consider tactics. The problem used to be how to get people to a church meeting by 8:30 p.m. when it was called for 7; the problem today is how to find standing room by 7. The most important meetings are held in the larger churches. The rally at which the city's compromise bus settlement plan was rejected, and the boycotters voted their "Pilgrimage and Prayer" day (March 28), was announced for 7 p.m. They began coming in at 3. By 5 the church was jammed along aisles and down the sides—3,000 in the main auditorium, 1,000 in the basement and 5,000 outside. Mr. Abernathy's slogan, "We'll walk with God," became the people's refrain. Fifty thousand next day plodded from morning till night in the rain.

NO SINNER, SHE: An **Afro** reporter tells of riding with a driver in the car pool. An elderly woman "in frayed garments and with a scarf wrapped about her head and carrying a basket of [hand-laundered] clothing" was given a lift. Her destination was about 18 blocks distant. Asked whether the basket was heavy, she said it wasn't any heavier than if she had it on a crowded bus "and one of them drivers yelled at me to stand up in the back."

How did her white employer feel about this walking to work?

"My boss lady, she gave me some extra money to ride the buses. I told her I wasn't going to do it. When she asked me why, I told her I wasn't going to sin against my people."

BUSES, 22; RIDERS, 6: The **Afro** writer reported that the "average domestic receives $18 for working a 6-day week." A full seven days will bring a few cents more. Every morning from 7 until 10 drivers in the 200-car pool transport people to work. From 4 to 7 p.m. the drivers take them home: "It seems that nobody who needs a ride has to walk."

The reporter found in a 2-day check that only six Negroes rode 22 buses which passed during rush hours: "Before the demonstration they were jammed, two-thirds of the riders being Negroes." A Negro druggist told him that before the dragnet arrests he thought some members of the pool

". . . were getting tired of getting up early in the morning and transporting folks. Now I don't know when it'll end. All we seek is three things: to be treated with courtesy, given a chance to ride the buses on a first-come-first-seated basis, and the employment of Negro drivers. The white people have made it a bigger issue than it should have been. When it'll end, I don't know. And I don't think anybody else knows."

Something New

THE REV. ROBERT S. GRAETZ, white pastor of an all-Negro congregation, told reporters that most of the talk about racial violence had come from white persons. On the other hand, "owing to the fine leadership," there was neither talk nor sign of violence among Negroes. Annoyed by this fact, a Mrs. Claire Mack wrote to the Montgomery **Advertiser** (3/5) that

". . . this pious, humble, 'good-goody' air the Negroes carry about with them these days is only to try to show us up and gain sympathy for themselves."

The Negroes are gaining sympathy even among their white neighbors. Mr. Graetz, a member of both the white and the Negro ministers' groups, revealed that before the arrests the white group had appealed to both "to sit down and talk things over." After the roundup, silence. On the other hand, many white ministers "off the record" support the protest.

THE 3 ATTITUDES: The Rev. Robert Hughes, exec. director of Alabama's white Council on Human Relations, named three categories of reaction among Montgomery's white ministers:

"First, I think the average white minister feels that the role the colored pastors are playing in heading up a protest group makes them as liable to imprisonment as any other person. They who take this extreme view feel that the protest violates the law and that the violators should be jailed. Secondly, there are some whose thinking is beclouded by the by-products: this demonstration will extend into other areas if the Negroes win this one. Thirdly, several white ministers are praying that the protest will succeed."

A white minister told Negro reporters that "most white members of the clergy marvel at the ability of the Revs. King, Abernathy and others to have such a profound hold on their members." He added:

"I attempted recently to preach a sermon on brotherhood in what I thought was an abstract fashion, and my board almost asked me to leave the pulpit. I admit I'm not brave enough to do what I feel ought to be done. It's a question of the congregation leading the pastor. . . ."

Journal & Guide, Norfolk
Hurrah! We can use this one!

FAITH IN MAN: Mr. Abernathy, 29, likes to illustrate the situation with folklore. To let white Alabama know something new had been added, he quoted from a prayer by a newly freed slave:

"Lord, we aint what we wanna be, an' we aint what we gonna be, an' we aint what we oughta be, but, thank you, Lord, we aint what we was!"

The Rev. Mr. King, 27, tells the boycotters why they must stick it out, "no matter how great the sacrifice":

"Don't lose faith in man. To lose faith in man is to lose faith in God. That's what I stand on. . . . That's what I'll die on. Don't give up on man. The most evil men in Montgomery can be made to love. I know that segregation can't survive, because it is evil. . . . So don't get weary in these days of emotional tension when the problems of the world are upon us. . . . Where there are growing pains, O Lord, give us the strength and the courage to stand up under it and, if necessary, to die by it. Help us to see that if we do not live together in this world as brothers, we will all die together. . . ."

Labor's Daily, Bettendorf, Iowa
ATTA BOY!

THE FIGHT GOES ON

Miss Lucy seeking a new court order

ALABAMA'S LEGISLATURE moved to question Autherine J. Lucy about "Communist" support for her fight to enter Alabama University, just as the U. S. Information Agency last week took a hand. USIA said it had recorded a North Vietnam broadcast of a letter allegedly written by Miss Lucy to Vietnamese "Communist" students. The agency asked and received NAACP permission to have the Negro student "repudiate" the alleged letter via the Voice of America. NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall represents Miss Lucy in her legal battle with Alabama University.

The Justice Dept. is under increasing pressure by the White Citizens Councils to list the NAACP as "subversive." This tactic has maneuvered some NAACP leaders—in efforts to prove themselves free of "red" taint—into equating the Communists with the anti-Semitic, white-supremacist, subversive WCC, thus weakening the common front against the new version of the Ku Klux Klan.

While her NAACP counsel moved in Federal Court to compel Alabama U. to admit her, Miss Lucy was resting in New York. The university meanwhile expelled Leonard Wilson, 20, a white student who was the ring leader of the rioting against Miss Lucy, and disciplined 24 others. Wilson has taken a prominent role in the Alabama White Citizens Councils.

'And French, if she cares'

Under the headline, "A COLONY FOR THE TAKING," the Paris LeMonde *(3/3) ran this comment on Miss Lucy:*

AN HONORABLE AMERICAN senator has recently demanded that his country intervene energetically to purge us once and for all of colonial barbarism. . . . Surely we would not be thus giving the world such a spectacle of disorder and shame if we had barred from our universities, and wholesomely expelled from our national body, races and individuals of color: blacks, yellow, blues, greens—and, of course, reds, with all their witches.

Alas, we have not reached that point. That is why, while waiting until we are worthy of these lofty examples, and at the moment when free Alabama, recovering from a lapse in slave justice, has just recovered its liberty, I propose that we colonize Miss Autherine Lucy and install her shamelessly right in the Sorbonne, itself, with the right and the honor—honor not for her but for ourselves—of being black among whites and French if she cares to be.

THEY DON'T TOLERATE — THEY LIVE TOGETHER

How the color line vanished in Brazil

By Elmer Bendiner

ON MAY 13, 1888, after days of debate, the Brazilian Senate voted full emancipation for all 700,000 Negro slaves in the nation and denied all compensation to slave-owners. From the balcony flowers rained down on the legislators. The Ambassador of the U.S. picked up a sprig that had fallen at his feet and said:

"What cost my country a war has ended here with roses."

In fact, though, it cost the U.S. far more than a war. Sixty-eight years later racism hangs around the neck of the U.S. like an albatross; white corruption still asserts its supremacy over Negro heroes in Alabama; "colored only" signs are still enforced and liberals urge the victims of jimcrow to be patient with their oppressors.

But on gleaming, spectacular Copacabana beach in Rio de Janeiro there are only little islands of unofficial but practical jimcrow: luxury hotels which shelter U.S. tourists and make them feel at home in guarded swimming pools where they can happily segregate themselves.

Across the Boulevard, in plain view from the hotel windows, Brazilians play and swim in total color blindness. North American liberals may wonder how they did it "over night."

SOME DIFFERENCES: Beginning in the 16th century slave ships brought their cargoes in chains not only to Virginia and North Carolina but to Rio and Bahia as well. Slavery had equal horrors in South and North America. It bred resistance in both places. Instead of a Frederick Douglass, Brazil had its Zumbi, the Negro Spartacus who in 1630 led a group of runaway slaves in founding the Republic of Palmares which heroically beat off all attacks and survived in independence for 67 years.

Slavery had its revolts and its apologists. Cotton spread and slavery with it. A way of life grew as it did in Dixie. There were differences, though. The race-purity myth, which the U.S. Southern planter clung to while rearing generations of mulatto children, never took hold in Brazil. The slave system was purely and simply an economic device and few justified it by racist theories. Planters not only procreated mulatto children but frequently married the Negro mothers of their children, granted their sons, legitimate and otherwise, their rights as heirs. In time there were slave owners darker than their slaves.

NO GRADUALISM: Slaves brought with them an African culture for which the slave-owners found better outlets than minstrel shows. Some slaves taught their masters in schools. In the 19th century, when political and economic trends offered slavery no future, the racial justification for it was threadbare. In the 1860's an abolitionist spirit gripped Brazil and produced its prophets, Castro Alves and Joaquim Nabuco. Pedro II, then ruling the Brazilian Empire, was a mild man who used to say he would rather teach school than be an emperor. He leaned closer to the abolitionists than to his slave-holding monarchist supporters, though he doomed his empire when he doomed slavery. On March 7, 1871, his Prime Minister, the Vizconde de Rio Branco, introduced a bill into Congress providing that all children born of slaves would be free. Brazilians called it the "Law of the Free Womb."

Brazilian gradualists—radical compared to the U.S. brand—backed it. Abolitionists Nabuco and Alves refused to settle for it. In 1884 the country was on its way to freedom. The provinces of Ceara and Amazonas freed their slaves altogether. The "go-slow" faction tried one more delaying tactic and in 1885 freed all slaves over 60. Three years later came the scene in the Senate when roses fluttered from the balcony and the die-hard slave-spokesman Sen. Paulino de Souza yielded with a Brazilian gesture. The Princess Isabel, ruling while her father was abroad, had come to Rio to sign freedom into law. The pro-slavery Senator said only:

"I would not keep the lady waiting."

EIGHT SHORT YEARS: The slavers, deserted by the curiously liberal Emperor, deserted him in turn. One year after emancipation the freedom struggle had merged with the great republican tide sweeping the nation and Brazil almost bloodlessly (with the Army joining the revolt) sent Pedro into exile and became a republic. Brazil never suffered or tried to rationalize the contradiction of democracy and racism. The Republic was born free.

It is hard to say how many Negroes there are in Brazil. The census of 1890, two years after emancipation, was the last one to record race or color. Since then official statistics have taken no note of irrelevancy of skin or color. It is certain, though, that Brazil is not a white man's country. In 1941 an unofficial estimate by Charles Gould in the **Journal of Geography** gave these percentages: Negroes and mulattos, 37.2; Indians and mestizos (of white and Indian descent), 17.7; whites of all nationalities, 44.4; Japanese and other Asians, 0.7.

Just eight years after emancipation a mulatto, Nilo Pecanha, was elected vice president and, when President Alfonso Pena died, succeeded to the presidency of the Republic. It stirred no racist screams then and now scarcely rates a mention in Brazilian history. Though freedom came in with roses, bread was another story. Though some Negroes quickly rose to prominence as legislators and professionals of all sorts, most ex-slaves found themselves at the bottom of the economic ladder.

ONE PEOPLE: Having won the battle for political and social freedom (though the lighter the skin, the easier the acceptance in early days) the Negro Brazilian joined the bigger struggle of a working class and a peasantry fighting for life on the thin edge of starvation. They left a fight for racial equality and joined a class struggle.

By and large most Negroes have remained in that fight, making up a good part of Brazil's working class. The difference between the U.S. and Brazil is that the Brazilian working class accepted the ex-slaves wholeheartedly. There are no jimcrow unions and there are no organizations for the advancement of Negroes in Brazil. Whites felt no need of the first and Negroes felt no need of the second. Intermarriage is so universally accepted that few Negroes think of themselves as anything but Brazilians. Men and women with skins as light as Sen. Eastland's talk proudly of themselves and their culture as Afro-Brazilians.

For while the color line is down, the stamp of Africa is on Brazil and is valued everywhere. Africa is in everything Brazilian: food, language, religion, customs, music. It is in the street cries of Bahia and it crops up among people who a generation ago might have been Italian or German or Portuguese.

Brazilians don't tolerate each other; they live with each other.

Photo by Sklar

CARNIVAL TIME IN BRAZIL

Far, far below the Mason-Dixon Line

PAROLE RESTRICTIONS LIFTED

CP leader Davis set his course 'in midst of a changing world'

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, 1943-47 N.Y. City Councilman and one of the ten Communists imprisoned in 1951 under the Smith Act, recently held his first press conference since the lifting of parole restrictions Feb. 24. He was released from the Terre Haute Federal prison last April. Davis met reporters in Harlem's Hotel Theresa. His theme was civil rights. He was asked:

"Are you free to do as you please now?"

Davis said yes, but added, "in so far as a Negro can do as he pleases." He said he would be taking his place "in the Negro people's struggle for peace and democracy." That would include running for office, he said, answering the question whether he would "try to get into the City Council." He said: "I'll take my place in the community and fight along with the people, against the tremendously high cost of living and jimcrow."

Davis said he felt "fine" and was "ready for action."

THE CHANGING WORLD: Wouldn't he "run into difficulties with the law again" if he renewed activities as a Communist? As a citizen, he replied, he considered himself entitled to engage in any legal activity. But hadn't his citizenship been taken away, and wasn't there another indictment pending? An indictment for CP membership, threatening "double jeopardy," is pending, he said, but added that he is heartened at returning to activity "in the midst of this changing world, the most dramatic manifestation of which, in our country," is the Montgomery bus boycott.

Alabama University's expulsion of Miss Autherine J. Lucy was "a subterfuge to cover up their giving in to the White Citizens Council," Davis said. "It proves her charge that the University conspired to prevent her return." The trustees' behavior was "final proof" that the WCC needed to be prosecuted. He declared that if Atty Gen. Brownell were "worthy of his title" he would have taken steps to disband the racist organization "and intervene on the side of the Negro people and their allies against Mississippi's Sen. Eastland, Georgia's Herman Talmadge, and other influential Negro-haters." Davis said he is still a member of the bar in Georgia, his native state, and is entitled to practice in Federal courts. He said he has no plans to practice law, but would insist on his right to do so. He graduated from Harvard Law School in 1932.

HITS ATTACK ON JACK: What did he think of the Louisiana racist attack on Manhattan Borough Pres. Hulan Jack?

"I condemn it. These attacks are anti-Negro in character; they express racist hatred of Negroes who hold high office. Even if Mr. Jack had been a member of the [so-called Communist-front] organizations they named it would't be a crime. The attempt to get Jack is a part of the movement to get former Judge Hubert T. Delany."

Did Davis find the general atmosphere better than 1951? He said:

"Of course, thanks to the hard and continuing fight of the people, including the Communists."

But he said the "terror campaign still is abroad against people who think and speak freely, even in New York City." The fact that Mayor Wagner once suggested FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover as police commissioner indicated "the powerful forces against freedom."

UNCLE SAM DULLES AND LITTLE SIR ANTHONY ECHO

What's the way out for Britain's Tory-made jam?

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

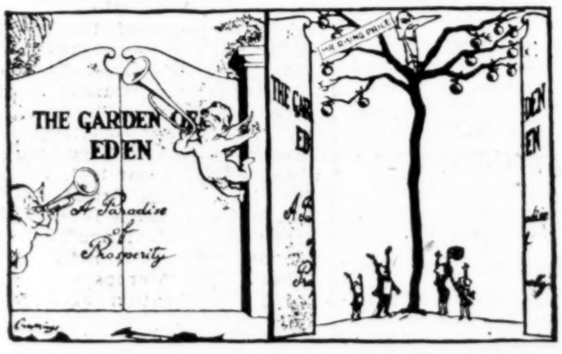
"WE ARE" writes "Cassandra" of London's **Daily Mirror**—an aging, dyspeptic columnist of the **bombasto furioso** school—"in a jam, a real jam. . . . Once the politicians have to reduce our national affairs to the importance of a cricket match, you can tell that we are in a very tight spot indeed."

He is commenting on Chancellor of the Exchequer Harold Macmillan's call to Britons to "play the game" to keep the inflation from getting still worse. You recall that dear old song, "It's not cricket to picket." Well, Harold's (Eton and Oxford) idea now is that the workers—right after bread and milk prices have been raised in the non-stop ballooning of living costs—should play with a straight bat by not asking for more wages to maintain already poor standards. Let them study the passages about God in the Eden-Dulles "Washington Declaration" and keep their traps shut.

THE DREAM-WORLD: "Cassandra" is right: the junior partner guarding freedom's ramparts is in a jam. On the "foreign policy" front, Labour's Alfred Robens tried to draw attention in the Commons debate Feb. 27 to the state of dangerous impotence into which Britain has been led by Uncle Sam Dulles' Little Sir Anthony Echo. The debate was livened by the maverick Tory Lord Hinchingbrooke who proposed that Britain run its own diplomacy and start by recognizing East Germany; and by Labour's Jennie Lee who pointed out that, as things stand, anyone who thinks the world is listening to what is said in Commons is taking himself for a sleigh-ride. But the speeches by Sir Anthony and Foreign Secy. Selwyn Lloyd showed that the government is happy in its dream-world and would rather not be disturbed.

Occupying the foreground of the Tories' dream is the vision of themselves crying "Well played, sir" to the workers as the latter humbly let the TV set go back to the store for lack of ability to maintain payments. If or when it comes to that they are, on the contrary, going to make noises rude enough to embarrass the Old Etonians in the pavilion. One reason why they don't play is that they know a simple way to make Britain's dangerous export-import gap shrink instead of widen—and not by taking it out of their hides through more restrictions on imports and consumer buying.

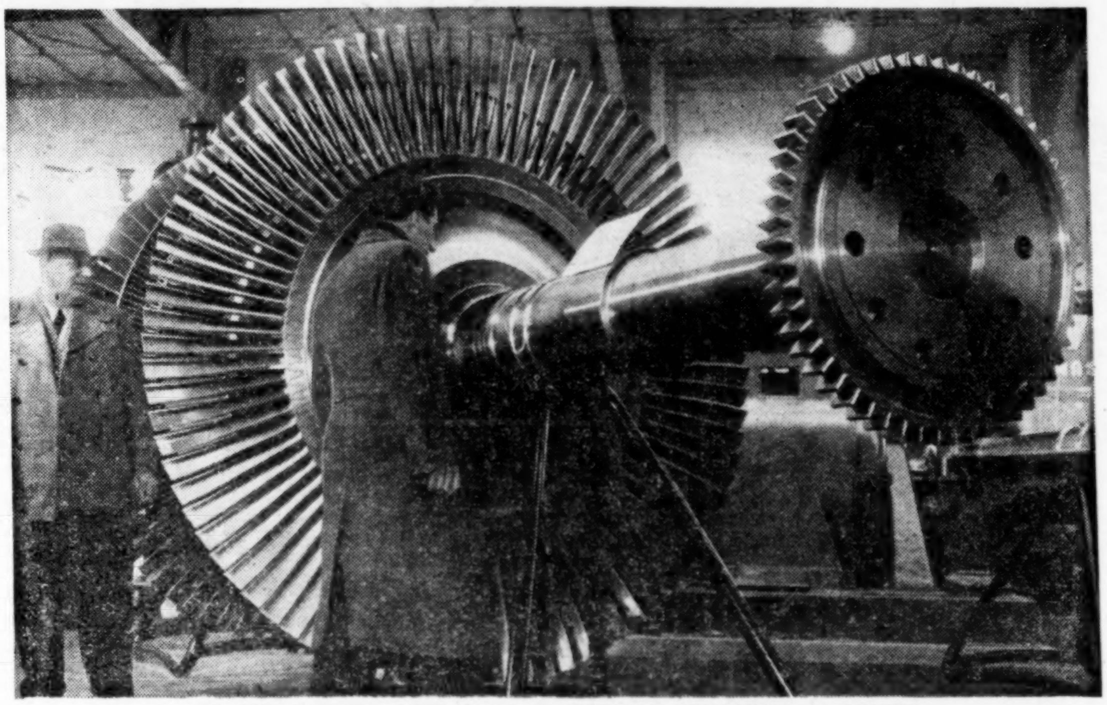
DULLES' ORDERS: In January Britain imported $207,000,000 more than it exported—a gap some $34,000,000 greater than the monthly average for the last quarter of 1955. The slogan everywhere is "Export or die!" Yet a lush export field beckons from the east of which Britain is only exploiting the fringes, because the senior partner says "No, papa spank," and the Etonians apparently enjoy the meek abdication of Britain's sovereignty over its own affairs.



Cummings in Daily Express, London
YESTERDAY . . . TODAY . . .

British businessmen—not so much the big monopolies, but medium-sized firms which first feel the need for new outlets—are eager to take advantage of the opportunities for trade with the socialist world. A lively organization here called the Council for Promotion of International Trade, headed by big, bushy-browed, benevolent Lord Boyd Orr, is firing on all cylinders to help them do it. At this year's Leipzig (East Germany) Fair there are 140 British exhibitors (there were 80 in 1954), including the famous Rolls-Royce firm with Chinese, Russian and German catalogs for their high-speed oil engines.

SLAPPED BY U.S.: But there are 1,589 West German exhibitors at the fair. With little American criticism they are stealing the East-West trade cream partly because of the large U.S. interest in West German industry, partly because they are making a flexible, maneuverable "total effort" to win export markets while their British rivals are bound up in governmental red-tape. While the West Germans make hay, it is the British who are bawled out by the U.S. Senate Investigations Subcommittee. Last month the committee's Sen. Symington, referring in particular to six small boring mills sold by a British firm to the U.S.S.R., charged the British (and the U.S. Administration for permitting it) with "tooling up the most modern type war machine" for the Russians. In a letter to the London **Daily Telegraph** the chairman of the firm which sold the boring mills noted that Russia has an "indigenous machine tool industry, developed over a long number of years and technically much farther advanced" than some dreamy Westerners imagine.



AT THE LEIPZIG FAIR: 1,589 W. GERMAN EXHIBITS, 180 BRITISH
A rotor for a large turbine made by a Berlin factory—British firms could sell them too, if . . .

Britain has a thing called the Fedn. of British Industries—initials FBI with apologies, of course, to J. Edgar Hoover—an organization speaking with the same voice as the Tory government. I asked an FBI official to comment on Symington's blast, and at once we were back on the playing-fields of Eton. "We can safely say," he told me, "that we've played the game [i.e. Washington's game of restricting trade] better than the others" who are supposed to be bound by U.S.-imposed embargoes. Britain does in fact enforce fairly rigidly its Board of Trade list of thousands of items banned or restricted for export to socialist countries. (Most of them are items these countries have no interest in buying; they include the West's various types of poison gas, rocket motors and "equipment for controlling guided weapons.")

THE "GRIEVANCES": The official British position, as represented by the FBI official, is a parrot-like repetition of such complaints as:

"• Ordinary Western salesmanship doesn't get you far with these blighters";

• "They will buy practically no consumer goods; they want capital goods only to set up their own industries and make the stuff themselves; you have to be a crystal-gazer to know what they'll take";

• "We can't come to grips with them over debts owed from before the Communist expropriation" (the last trade agreement, with Bulgaria, includes an arrangement to pay off these "debts" to Britain);

• "They have little that's worth while to sell." (Actually British imports from socialist countries are consistently much higher than its exports to them—twice as much in 1955.)

But the truth is that the straight-bat boys who are prepared to commit economic suicide rather than offend Uncle are finding themselves in the position of King Canute who sat on the beach ordering the tide not to come in. Despite all obstructions and intimidations, British trade with the socialist world reached the significant level of $500,000,000 in 1955. And even though the FBI and the government try to pretend otherwise, socialist-world industrialization offers much greater scope for the future than under the old relationship with what Britain regarded as backward countries producing primary commodities and importing manufactured goods. The new, more equal relationship offers the opportunity for a widening inter-change of manufactured products.

WHAT IS STRATEGIC? The obstacles in the way are as artificial as the concept that certain items are "strategic" and others are not. The U.S. is now willing to sell these countries surpluses such as butter, and has just sold $3,200,000 worth of farm machinery and seed corn to the U.S.S.R. Even granting for argument's sake that socialist countries want trade with the West to "build up their war machine," why aren't these items "strategic" since soldiers must eat in order to fight? The ultimate absurdity is that some "strategic" items embargoed for sale by the West such as chrome, manganese and pig-iron are being imported in quantity by the West from socialist countries. Britain is now buying Russian materials so "strategic," so urgently needed for Western "defense," that they are sent straight from the ports to be made up into Centurion tanks. For two years Hungary has been offering to sell to Britain and the U.S. "strategic" aluminum powder, the sale of which in the other direction is banned.

Washington—with Old Etonian echoes—has tried to show that since the socialist countries have "taken little advanage" of the 1954 relaxation of embargoes, the embargoes can't be the main obstacle to more East-West trade. But there is no scope for major development as long as uncertainty and distrust continue, due to constant changes in the political climate. The story can be read in the wild fluctuations of East-West trade ever since it began in the '20's, parallelling the hardenings and relaxations of politicial tensions.

The socialist countries, and Western firms doing business with them, cannot make long-term plans when important contracts can suddenly be canceled, as the British government has done for example with Poland. Washington points to the "over 100 items" it took off the embargo, but it had no sooner eased the ban on copper wire and rubber (actually the only de-restricted items socialist countries were likely to buy) then there was a storm over "feeding the Communist war machine" by permitting their sale. In Britain, producers of ships, cable, earth-moving and road-building equipment have been among firms which, with operations partially geared to big Eastern orders, have been forced by constant political uncertainties to change their plans.

THE PREVAILING WIND: How will the Tories lead Britain out of the jam? After a day on "foreign policy" the government turned Parliament's attention to "defense." Defense Minister Sir Walter Monckton described plans to evacuate 12 million mothers, children and old and sick persons in case of H-bomb attack. To MP's shouts of "Where to?" Sir Walter replied with great dignity:

"The areas to be scheduled as evacuation areas will be more extensive than those of the last war."

What about the direction of the wind if an H-bomb falls? Said Sir Walter:

"We shall no doubt have to take into account the prevailing wind, as one often has to in these things."

Nobody asked "How often?" and Sir Walter proceeded to outline the "broader definition of priority classes" for evacuation to "the areas scheduled." Tea was then served.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN RIVALRY

Oil riches: the real reason for tension in Middle East

By Kumar Goshal
(First of two articles)

ANGLO-AMERICAN efforts to curry Arab favor received a sharp jolt on March 2. On that day Jordan's 20-year-old King Hussein bit the hand that fed him. He curtly dismissed the legendary British Lt. Gen. John Bagot Glubb, builder and commander of the Arab Legion, an archaic symbol of British control of the Middle East.

Hussein sent Glubb home on short notice, rubbed salt on the wound by presenting Glubb with an autographed photo of himself as a souvenir. Whitehall was profoundly shocked because, as Benjamin Welles reported (N. Y. Times, 3/4), Hussein owed

"... his throne, his revenues, his armed forces and his very nation to British inspiration and backing."

TROUBLED WATERS & OIL: An irate British government could not retaliate in the old way; its military forces in

New Times, Moscow
"Common interests" and their roots.

Cyprus, recently augmented for any Jordanian emergency since the riot against the Middle East Treaty Organiation, were having difficulty enough coping with the local situation.

The Middle East turmoil was churning up deep-rooted basic conflicts, festering for decades, and revealing their sources in the process. While trying to attribute all trouble to alleged Soviet intrigue, Middle East reports in the U. S. press described every setback to the West in terms of the West's stake there: military, air and naval bases; anti-Soviet allies; and, above all, fabulous profits from oil.

The post-World War I history of the Anglo-American-French rivalry over oil concessions and territorial division of the Middle East for economic exploitation shows the basic cause of the conflicts, of which the Israeli-Arab conflict is but one aspect.

THE U. S. GETS IN: Oil and its riches brought the Middle East into the center of world tensions. At the end of World War I, with the Turkish empire smashed and German concessions and dreams obliterated, Britain gloated over its impregnable position regarding Middle Eastern oil. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. was already in the field, and British and French interests held concessions for prospecting in Mesopotamia (now Iraq.)

Agitation had developed meanwhile in the U. S. for "an aggressive foreign policy" in support of American oil concerns longing to pick up concessions in the Middle East. Before the British and French could tap their Iraqi oil sources, they were confronted with a concession over the same territory secured by the retired U. S. Admiral, Colby M. Chester, from one of the short-lived Turkish governments.

DIVIDING THE LOOT: After years of complicated negotiations, punctuated by powerful prodding from Washington on behalf of U. S. oil magnates, the Iraq Petroleum Co. came into being. At the last moment from the shadows emerged the Armenian adventurer, Carlouste Sarkis Gulbenkian, with an air-tight claim of his own. Finally, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony, Anglo-Iranian, Royal Dutch-Shell and the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles each took a 23.75% share, handing over 5% to Gulbenkian. The members closed the circle by drawing a line around the Middle East to keep newcomers out, piously pledging to share with one another any new sources of oil found within the circle.

But the pious pledges were rudely broken in Saudi Arabia, where Standard of California and Texaco secured a concession, quietly took in Standard of N. J. and Socony as partners, and formed the fantastically rich Arabian-American Oil Co. (Aramco). The other fuming partners in the lined-circle agreement were left out in the cold—except Gulbenkian. By threatening legal action which might disclose the sordid details of the international oil cartel, Gulbenkian extracted substantial concessions from Aramco, making him reputedly the richest man in the world.

RIVALRY ROUGHENS: Despite cartel agreements and interlocking directorships, the U. S. and Britain have continued to be ruthless rivals for control of Middle East oil. After the fall of Iran's Premier Mossadegh in 1953, Herbert Hoover Jr. helped restore the nationalized oil concern not to Anglo-Iranian but to a consortium of U. S. and British companies. The latest U. S.-British clash occurred last October in the Buraimi oases on the Persian Gulf.

British members of the Iraq Petroleum Co. claimed oil rights in Buraimi through concessions from sheiks ruling over British protectorates. But Aramco claimed oil rights there through Saudi Arabia's claims of suzereignty over these sheikdoms. The conflict resulted in armed clashes and bitter Washington-London debates.

Last Christmas Eve Secy. of State Dulles was reported (Newsweek, 1/9) to have bluntly warned London to settle the dispute immediately to "prevent an open U. S.-British split." The British frankly said that without this "last bit of empire we have . . . we are finished." This conflict is still hanging fire.

RULE BY TENSION: With over 60% of the world's known oil reserves at stake, the Middle East has been a prize possession of the West. Governments have been put up and knocked down,

Herblock in Washington Post
"Now is everything perfectly clear?"

vast amounts of royalties and bribes have been paid feudal rulers to maintain Western control of fat profits from wells worked by ill-paid Arab workers. The oil companies, backed by their respective governments, have been the real rulers of the Middle East, displaying not the slightest interest either in the native populations nor in their own countries.

A Senate Investigating Committee in 1948 disclosed that during World War II Aramco persuaded the U. S. government to pay $30,000,000 demanded by Saudi Arabia's ruler. It was further disclosed that the late President Roosevelt had given Ibn Saud $99,000,000 with the understanding that Aramco would sell desperately needed oil to the U. S. Navy at 40c a barrel; nevertheless, Aramco charged the Navy the going rate of $1.05 a barrel. Washington is still trying to recover the overcharge.

Rivalry over exploitation of the wealth of the Middle East and maintenance of Western control has required that the region be kept in perpetual tension. This can be seen even more clearly in the way the Middle East was carved into Western mandates and states were created out of the former Ottoman empire after World War I.

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THURS., MARCH 29 .... LONG BEACH
(Morgan Hall, 835 Locust Av., Long Beach)
SAT., MARCH 31 .... EAST SIDE, L. A.
(City Terrace Cultural Center, 3875 City Terrace Drive)
SUN., APRIL 1 .... NO. HOLLYWOOD

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Kumar Goshal
Bay Area Itinerary

WED., MARCH 21: Berkeley, speech on "The World Since Bandung" plus films. Finnish Hall, 1819 10th Street, 8 p.m.

THURS., MARCH 22: San Francisco, speech on "The World Since Bandung" and films of the Bandung Conference and Nehru's tour of the USSR. Panel Room, 150 Golden Gate Av. Door Contribution: 50c.

FRI., MARCH 23: Palo Alto, speech on "The World Since Bandung" plus films. Community Center, 1305 Middlefield Rd. Admission free.

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MAXINE SULLIVAN SINGS at the GUARDIAN CONCERT at Carnegie Hall. See p. 9.

BOOKS & PUBLICATIONS

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BOOKS

Ireland: Resistance songs

DURING IRELAND'S struggle for freedom in the years 1916-21 ballads and songs, as well as ridicule of British authorities, played a large part. I.R.A. (Irish Republican Army) Intelligence often made monkeys out of British Army authorities and gave the people a laugh. Even when the Black and Tan terror was loosed on them by Lloyd George, they laughed and sang. The ridicule, laughter and songs did much to heighten the spirit of resistance which forced the British to seek a truce and eventually depart from at least the greater part of Ireland.

Some of the songs they sang (but not all of them—some of the greatest, **The Foggy Dew, The Minstrel Boy** and **The Soldier's Song** are missing) are contained in **Irish Songs of Resistance*** which also gives a necessarily condensed but pithy history of Ireland's Troubles under the British yoke. The music of the first four lines of each song accompanies the text. The tunes are timeless, so it should be easy for people to get the air and start singing these songs, or perhaps versions of them adapted to U.S. and world conditions today.

GOT A HARP? Well could we take a leaf out of the book of modern Irish history and begin to use the deadly weapons of ridicule, laughter and song against Dulles, Knowland, Nixon, Walter, McCarthy, Eastland and their ilk. And what better tune for a starter than **O'Donnell A Bu** (O'Donnell to Victory), a martial, soul-stirring air which would make the most apathetic want to be on the march for or against something or somebody. Try it this way:

Awake, U. S. A. folk, the long night has ended,
The first golden gleam of the morning has come;
Voices long sundered in concord are blended,
High hopes are surging in breasts that were numb.

Chorus:

On for a nation's rights; on to the noble fight;
Leap from your sleep, let your vigil ne'er cease;
Win back your own again, tear off the thraldom chain;
On, on, the war cry is Freedom and Peace.

With bows to the originator, M. J. McCann, and the 1918 adaptation by Brian O'Higgins, this reviewer has continued the foregoing with three further stanzas bringing **O'Donnell A Bu** right up to the minute for our time's Troubles. Write me care of the GUARDIAN if you want to try them on your own harp. —**GAEL**

**IRISH SONGS OF RESISTANCE by Patrick Galvin,* The Folklore Press, 509 *Fifth Av., N. Y.; Paper* $1.50.

Nowak dinner April 15

In celebration of his 53rd birthday and commemorating his 25th anniversary in the labor movement in Michigan, a banquet for former State Senator Stanley Nowak will be held Sunday, April 15, at the Midland Pioneers Union Hall, 7834 Mt. Elliot, Detroit.

Tickets and information available from Stanley Nowak Banquet Committee, 7525 Wykes, Detroit 10. Phone TE 4-0073.

BOOKS & PUBLICATIONS

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"NO MORE LITIGATION" SEEN

Melish preaches at Holy Trinity after clear-cut court victory

FOR MOST of the week the Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn was guarded by Pinkerton police flashing their badges and pistols as worshippers entered and children played in the nursery. On Saturday, March 10, the Pinkertons decamped, the keys were turned over to the Rev. William Howard Melish. On Sunday he preached to 500 jubilant members of the congregation.

On Monday, March 5, Bishop James P. DeWolfe, at war with the congregation and seeking to oust Mr. Melish, had "installed" the Rev. Herman S. Sidener as rector over the objections of most of the congregation. Simultaneously the anti-Melish faction within the church changed 40 locks and installed the armed guard. Mr. Melish and his family had only the rectory.

KEYS CHANGE HANDS: On Friday, March 9, those seeking Mr. Melish's ouster asked Brooklyn Supreme Court Justice Edward Baker to bar him from the pulpit. On Saturday morning Justice Baker ruled that the vestry meeting which voted to replace Mr. Melish lacked a quorum and was therefore "incompetent" to act. It was a clear-cut victory for Melish and the congregation.

Mr. Sidener announced that he would not attempt to preach. The anti-Melish forces withdrew the Pinkertons and turned over the keys to Mr. Melish. The victory was far-reaching because another action for a permanent injunction against Mr. Melish, taken earlier and still pending in Brooklyn Supreme Court, hinges on the same legal question of the quorum.

Bishop DeWolfe commented only that it was not a case for the courts, but for canon law and "canonically" he had ruled the vestry was empowered to replace Mr. Melish. He threatened continued action.

VESTRY VOTE APRIL 2: But Melish expressed confidence that "there will be no further unseemly attempt to interfere with my conducting of the services." During the Sunday service, former justice Hubert P. Delany told the congregation there would probably "be no more litigation" because Justice Baker's ruling had been "so clear."

Guardian photo by Robert Joyce

POSTING THE NEWS OF A VICTORY IN BROOKLYN

Dewitt Kamel, clerk of the vestry, restores Mr. Melish's name

At coffee-time, a Holy Trinity custom after services, there was the feel of victory. Whatever other maneuver the Bishop might try would have little time in which to take effect. On April 2, Delany said, the congregation would hold its annual meeting and up for election would be four of the six anti-Melish vestrymen. Two vacancies on the vestry are also to be filled.

Too secret

MILFORD, Conn. (UP) — The board of police commissioners temporarily rejected a request to link a secret industrial concern, working on defense orders, with the alarm system at police headquarters. The firm, which keeps secret documents at its office, was too secret to name.

"The boys at headquarters would not know where to go if the alarm was rung," Commissioner Noyes Hall said.

Pittsburgh **Press**, Feb. 17.

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CALENDAR

Chicago

PLAN YOUR TRIP TO U.S.S.R. Informal discussion with travel agency operator and international airline representative. Wed., March 21, 8 p.m. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adam. Adm.: 50c. Aupices: Chi- Council of Amer.-Soviet Friendship.

Fri., April 6, 8:15 P.M. Midland Hotel. Guest Speaker: **REV. WM. HOWARD MELISH, JR.** of New York. "Religion, Ethics and the USSR." Adm.: $1. Auspices: Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Hear **GEORGE McLAIN**, Pres. Natl. Institute of Social Welfare, speak on Revision of the Public Assistance Section of the Social Security Act. Fri., March 23, 1:30 p.m., at 32 W. Randolph St. Auspices: N.I.S.W and the Old Age and Public Assistance Union of Illinois.

Two Years of the American Socialist: Hear **Bert Cochran**, Editor, American Socialist on "Ten Years of the Cold War: What's Ahead?" —Harvey O'Connor, distinguished author, "Civil Liberties in a Changing World"; Rev. William Baird, chairman. Fri., March 30, 8 p.m. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams St. Contribution: $1.

Cleveland

The **CLEVELAND OPEN FORUM** meets every Saturday, 8:30 p.m., at 1205 Superior Av. Everybody welcome.

Detroit, Mich.

BANQUET in honor of **PHIL RAYMOND**, tribute to his 35 years of labor activity, Sat., March 24, 7 p.m., Parkside Hall, 3119 Fenkell, nr. Dexter. Musical program, excellent dinner, etc. Adm.: $2.00. Reservations: Raymond Banquet Committee, 2419 Grand River (Rm. 2), Detroit 1, Mich.

FORUM: "Ten Years of the Cold War—Where Are We Going?" Bert Cochran, Editor, The American Socialist. Sun., March 25, 3 p.m. 2515-17 Woodward Av. (2nd floor). Refreshments, Discussion. Don: 50c. Auspices: Detroit Labor Forum.

Irvington, New Jersey

The Sholem Aleichem Jewish Children's School proudly presents a concert featuring **JEAN MURAI & HER TROUPE** in "Around the World in Folk Song & Dance." Sat., March 24, 8 p.m. Temple AABC, Chancellor Av. & Philip Pl. Buffet Supper, folk and social dancing after concert. Adm.: $1.25.

Los Angeles

U.S. AND WORLD FOLK SONGS sung by **THE BALLAD MAKERS** in benefit concert for the FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH at 2936 W. 8th St. Fri., March 23, 8:30 p.m. Tickets on sale at church. DU 9-1356.

San Francisco

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS speaks against SACB witch-hunt attack on the California Labor School, Fri., April 13, 8 p.m., Hotel Whitcomb. Entertainment. Robert W. Kenny, chairman. Auspices: Comm. for Defense of Academic Freedom.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) concludes its Annual Festival of International Film Classics with **"PASSION FOR LIFE,"** March 17. The teaching profession gains new respect and dignity in this prize-winning French film about an elementary teacher. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **MR. EMMANUEL.**

24TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION. Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., B'klyn. Sat., March 31, 8:30 p.m. Israeli songs dances, music. Shoshana, opera soprano; Abraham Elber, dancer; Rachel Hadass, folk music; Amitia Neeman, composer; M. Kagen on guitar & oriental drums. Subscription: $1.50.

HEINRICH HEINE CENTENNIAL. Speaker: Dr. Frederic Ewen. Aaron Kramer in poetry readings. Sun., March 18, 2:30 p.m., at Teachers Center, 206 W. 15th St. (off 7th Av.) $1, tax included. Auspices: German-American, Inc.

TWELVE SOCIAL CLUB, INC. presents Nadine Brewer, Sat., Mar. 17, 10 p.m., at 820 B'way, near 12th St Buffet and Social Dancing. Contribution.

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SUN., MARCH 25, 7 P.M. Beulah Richardson, poet and actress, will be guest artist in magnificent brotherhood program. Edith Segal, well-known teacher of folk dancing, will lead dancing class at Jewish Peoples Philharmonic Chorus, 189 2d Av. (2d floor).

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—The Spectator

OUT OF THE DUST by Lars Lawrence. G. P. Putnam & Sons, New York. 311 pp. $4.50.

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